/287 cont./

764 are sung without stopping:

535 ʷuręʷure	foot, foot
533 kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę	we others
čę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewâguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bădejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewâguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau prepared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous
[576] ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Brasilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally. It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

This is the third time that the structural equivalence of the child and his or her mother is required in accounting for kin terms. Though the social correlates of the rules will be discussed in subsequent chapters, we may even now start to wonder about the nature and importance of the mother-child relation for the Bororo.

There are still some more kin types that remain to be discussed. The first is "father's child." By our step-kin rule, father's children, younger than Ego, are considered younger siblings and are classified appropriately as iviye, or vocatively as imedu and aredu. (An alternative designation for them is ikobo. This term is applied both referentially and vocatively, but only knowledgeable members of the society use it at all, and then only very rarely.) However, if the person's father's child is a member of the opposite moiety (i.e., if their common father had the child by a woman of his own moiety), he will not be addressed by any kinship term at all. The Bororo say that it is not polite to remind a brother that he is the child of an endogamous relation. Thus he will usually be addressed by his name. "...but," said one of my informants, "if my sister from the other moiety makes sexual advances to me, I should say to her 'Do not play with me, the same father caused our birth, so do not behave in this way, I am your brother (avuri).'"[1]

There are two other kin types that differ, in the system

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[1] "Awadu kaba, pao mitodu koyare pawodudo. Kodire aro modu kare ino. Avuri nure imi."

*601 593 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband). A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your companion). Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite *601 576 to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 611 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a person is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally, the relationship traced through the mother takes precedence over the one traced through the father. In case FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over *601 593 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 607 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband" to each other they will call each other either inodowu or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally observe this kind of relation.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 264 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two 276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 264 A few hours after sunrise, an *aredo* appeared at the entrance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a 616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been [252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot [415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six-[261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two 574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro 576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the